

BEIJING REVIEW

- Mondale's China Visit
- Nanchang, Jinggang Mountains and Zunyi
— Places of Revolutionary Significance



BEIJING REVIEW

北京周报

Vol. 22, No. 36

September 7, 1979

CONTENTS

CHRONICLE	2
EVENTS & TRENDS	3
Nepalese King and Queen in Beijing	
For Development of Sino-American Relations in the 80s	
Strict Demands on Leading Cadres	
Great Hall of the People Open to Public	
Chinese Religious Delegation	
Diversify the Rural Economy	
Small Export Commodities Fair	
Earthquake Hits Inner Mongolia	
SPECIAL FEATURE	
Visiting Places of Revolutionary Significance (II): Nanchang, Jinggang Mountains and Zunyi—Our Correspondents Qin Yun and Dai Wei	
Nanchang Uprising	8
The Jinggang Mountain Road	12
Zunyi City and the Meeting	17
ARTICLES AND DOCUMENTS	
Building a "Green Great Wall"—Li Yigong, Huang Zhenggen and Fu Shanglun	
22	
Hoang Van Hoon's Statement—On Being Expelled From Vietnamese Communist Party	
24	
Laos: Why the People Flee the Country—Zong Shu	
26	
ROUND THE WORLD	28
ON THE HOME FRONT	30
LETTERS FROM READERS	31

COVER: Building a "Green Great Wall"—a huge project undertaken by the state to set up a shelter belt extending from northwest China and the northern part of north China to the western part of northeast China. When completed, it will transform nature and bring enormous benefits to the people.

Picture shows a team of scientists collecting scientific data in the Junggar Basin for harnessing deserts and building new oases.

Published every Friday by BEIJING REVIEW,
Beijing (37), China
Post Office Registration No. 2-922
Printed in the People's Republic of China

CHRONICLE

August 27

• Xinhua News Agency reported that Shanghai and San Francisco will become friendship cities.

August 28

• The Nepalese King and Queen left Beijing after a friendship visit to China (for details see p. 3).

August 29

• At the 11th plenary meeting of the Sino-Vietnamese negotiations, Han Nianlong, Head of the Chinese Government Delegation, pointed out that no progress has been made in the negotiations as a result of Hanoi's clinging to hegemonism and its policy of opposition and hostility towards China. He stressed that Vietnamese troops must withdraw from Kampuchea immediately and completely.

August 31

• Samdech Norodom Sihanouk left Beijing for Pyongyang. During his stay in Beijing, Vice-Premiers Deng Xiaoping and Li Xiannian and Vice-Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress Deng Yingchao met him on different occasions.

• Li Xiannian, Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the State Council, met a delegation from the Democratic People's Front of Surinam led by Humphrey Keerveld.

September 1

• U.S. Vice-President Mondale left Guangzhou after winding up a week-long visit to China (for details see p. 3).

• Xinhua reported that according to preliminary confirmed figures, the total output of this summer's grain crops was more than 64.9 million tons, 5.5 million tons above that of last year.

September 2

• Premier Hua sent a message of greetings to the Sixth Summit Conference of Non-Aligned Countries. The message expressed support for the just stand of the non-aligned countries and the belief that the numerous non-aligned countries would get rid of imperialist and hegemonist interference and make greater contributions to helping the non-aligned movement play its positive role.



Nepalese King and Queen In Beijing

"There is no problem whatever but friendship, goodwill, understanding and co-operation between China and Nepal. Sino-Nepalese friendly relations and co-operation have become a model of good-neighbourly relations based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence." This was what Premier Hua Guofeng said about Sino-Nepalese relations at the banquet he gave in honour of King Birendra and Queen Aishwarya.

His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev and Her Majesty Queen Aishwarya Rajya Laxmi Devi Shah paid a friendship visit to Beijing from August 26 to 28.

It was the fourth visit to China by King Birendra, a high-

ly respected and old friend of the Chinese people. Premier Hua met with the King and the Queen, and Vice-Premier Li Xiannian exchanged views with the King on bilateral relations and international questions of common concern.

The Nepalese King was on his way to Havana to attend the 6th summit conference of non-aligned countries. Nepal, which is a founding member of the non-aligned movement, has made positive contributions.

Mutual visits by Chinese and Nepalese leaders have enhanced mutual understanding. In the past year, the two countries completed the joint surveying of their common boundary, thereby further consolidating this friendly and peaceful boundary line.

China highly appraises the non-aligned movement for

upholding the principles of independence and of not joining any bloc, and it firmly supports the just struggles waged by the non-aligned countries in all parts of the world. Some countries have brought the dictates of a superpower into the movement in violation of the wishes and interests of the numerous non-aligned countries; naturally, this line of action has met with the latter's opposition.

For Development of Sino-American Relations In the 80s

Before leaving China after an official visit, U.S. Vice-President Walter F. Mondale said that his visit had laid a foundation for U.S.-China relations in the 1980s. The visit and the talks he had with the Chinese leaders, he said, marked the entry into a new important stage in the relations between the two countries. Vice-President Mondale was the highest American official to visit China since the normalization of Sino-American relations in January this year.

Concrete achievements:

- The Vice-President held talks with Premier Hua Guofeng, Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping and other Chinese leaders and discussed the ways and means of laying a good foundation for developing Sino-American relations in the 1980s and the following decades. Mutual understanding was enhanced. Premier Hua accepted an invitation to visit the United States next year. Premier Hua invited President Carter to visit China at a time convenient for him.



Nepalese King and Queen welcomed by Premier Hua at the airport.



Vice-President Mondale gives a speech at Beijing University.

• The Chinese and U.S. Governments signed in Beijing two documents—the implementing accord for cultural exchanges in 1980 and 1981 and a protocol on co-operation in hydroelectric power and related water resource management. Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping and Vice-President Mondale signed the two documents, and Premier Hua attended the signing ceremony. The two documents will strengthen the bonds between the two countries and will help translate their goal of economic co-operation into practical significance.

• Vice-President Mondale attended the ceremony opening the U.S. consulate-general in Guangzhou. This is the first U.S. consulate-general in China in 30 years. Another consulate will be set up in Shanghai. At the same time China will open consulates in San Francisco and Houston.

• Vice-President Mondale announced that his country would

solve before the end of this year the question of providing the most-favoured-nation treatment for China. The United States, he added, would provide export-import bank credits for China and encourage American enterprises to invest in China.

Vice-President Mondale's visit has made contributions to the strengthening of friendship between the two peoples and the expansion of contacts in the fields of politics, economy and culture. It is a big step forward in translating normal relations into concrete reality.

Sino-U.S. relations have made considerable progress since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Co-operation has made steady progress in various fields and friendly interflow between the two peoples has also increased. Facts have proved that their relations will develop steadily as long as the two sides act strictly in accordance with

the principles defined in the agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations, respect each other's independence and sovereignty, solve concrete issues between them on the basis of equality and mutual benefit, and view and tackle problems confronting both countries from a global perspective and long-term political and strategic interests.

During his visit, the American Vice-President said that the United States had already notified Taiwan that it intended to move away from the official civil air agreement to an informal arrangement. Though this is only a small step, such an effort made for the implementation of the principles of the Sino-American agreement on the establishment of diplomatic relations is welcomed by the people of the two countries.

Vice-President Mondale, Mrs. Mondale and their party stayed in Beijing, Xian and Guangzhou for a week. While in Beijing, the Vice-President gave a speech at Beijing University to 800 teachers and students on August 27. His speech was televised that same evening and its full text was published in *Renmin Ribao* the next day.

Vice-President Mondale's successful visit has filled a new page in the annals of Sino-American relations. Frequent visits and talks between the two countries' leaders are of great importance not only to bilateral relations but also to world peace.

Strict Demands on Leading Cadres

The Chinese Communist Party is making every effort to revive the good style of work and carry

forward the Party's fine traditions which suffered great damage at the hands of Lin Biao and the gang of four. Leading cadres, in particular, are required to make strict demands on themselves and set a good example so as to unite the people of the whole country in the drive for the four modernizations.

Exposure and criticism in the press of some leading cadres' undesirable style of work, such as seeking privileges for themselves and their relatives, have had strong repercussions both inside and outside the Party. Most people acclaim this way of doing things which, they say, is yet another indication that our Party is open, aboveboard and full of vitality.

The Party organ *Renmin Ribao* frontpaged a commentary on August 15, calling on leading cadres to make strict demands on themselves. While affirming that the overwhelming majority of the leading cadres have a good style of work, it said that the undesirable practices of a minority of leading cadres have impaired the reputation of the Party and weakened the ties between the cadres and the masses, and in a measure are adversely affecting the people's concerted efforts to accomplish the four modernizations.

The commentary noted that these cadres ignore Party discipline and state laws and abuse the power in their hands to promote personal interests and those of their relatives; some even demand higher positions and better treatment. If such a bad style of work is not changed, it will spread like a virus and infect the healthy organism of the Party.

Some problems, the commentary said, are caused by irrational regulations which provide privileges for cadres far beyond their needs and far above the average people's living standards. Since these are not in keeping with the reality in our country, the people and most of the leading cadres welcome changes to these old rules and regulations.

The commentary recalled that on the eve of nationwide victory in 1949, Chairman Mao Zedong time and again warned the whole Party to guard against arrogance and rashness and the attack of the bourgeoisie with sugarcoated bullets. Later, he urged leading cadres to maintain close ties with the masses, accept their criticism and supervision and not to take advantage of their high positions or seniority.

Leading cadres must always set a good example, the commentary stressed. Whatever they ask of the masses, they should themselves do it first. For only in this way can they raise their prestige and only thus can the Party's line, policies and principles be smoothly carried out.

The commentary rejected as

absurd the argument that leading cadres should not be criticized in the press for their undesirable style of work. Criticisms are meant to educate them and urge them to change their ways and not, as some claim, for the purpose of overthrowing them. Criticisms are not intended to sully their reputation but rather to help them so that they will work wholeheartedly for modernization. If they dare to face up to their mistakes and correct them, they will surely regain the confidence of the masses.

Great Hall of the People Open to Public

The Great Hall of the People, located on the west side of Beijing's Tian An Men Square, is now open to the public. In the six weeks since July 15, visitors to this magnificent building numbered more than 210,000.

With a total floor space of 170,000 square metres, the Great Hall of the People was built in ten months' time and completed at the end of August 1959. It consists of three major parts: a 10,000-seat auditorium, a banquet hall that seats 5,000 and an office building for the Standing



Visitors in the Guangdong Hall.

Committee of the National People's Congress. There are besides 30 smaller halls named after the country's 30 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions (including Taiwan), each decorated in the local style.

In the 20 years after the Great Hall of the People was built, many important events have taken place there, such as the convocation of the National People's Congresses, the highest organ of state power, the National Science Conference and many other important meetings. On traditional festive occasions, representatives of the people of all walks of life gather in this imposing building for celebrations. Here, too, many diplomatic activities take place. The state leaders often meet with foreign guests there and give banquets in the banquet hall.

The Great Hall of the People is now available to foreign embassies and important visiting delegations where they can give banquets or receptions.

The auditorium, the central hall and seven other smaller halls are open to visitors three times a week. But they will be closed for the time being when there are important meetings or other activities.

Chinese Religious Delegation

A delegation of Chinese religious circles is attending the third world conference on religion and peace which opened at Princeton, New Jersey, towards the end of August. The delegation is made up of representatives from China's Buddhist, Islamic and Christian circles.

This is the first delegation of Chinese religious circles to

attend an international conference of this kind since the Cultural Revolution. Before leaving for the United States, Zhao Puchu, head of the delegation and acting president of the Chinese Buddhist Association, said: "We are very glad to have the opportunity to meet friends of religious circles of various countries in the interests of peace and amity." He added that while Chinese religious circles would follow the principle of independence and self-support in religious affairs, they were willing to strengthen their ties with international religious circles and friendly personages and organizations in working jointly for the cause of world peace and the happiness of mankind.

"At the conference," he said, "our delegation will join hands with religious personages of various countries, put forward well-considered suggestions and practical measures and make positive contributions to the safeguarding of international security, maintenance of human dignity and development of a new international economic order."

There are many religions in China, the most important of which are Buddhism, Islam, Christianity and Taoism. China's Constitution guarantees the freedom of religious belief and all the religions in the country enjoy an equal status, each having its own organization and activities. Believers enjoy a normal religious life.

During the Cultural Revolution, the Chinese Government's policy on religion was seriously undermined. But in less than three years after the overthrow of the gang of four, the policy of freedom of religious belief

has again been implemented. Ecclesiastical personnel in various parts of the country have resumed their posts and are again in charge of religious services in churches, monasteries or mosques. Religious organizations are also being consolidated.

Diversify the Rural Economy

Hunan Province plans to double or even triple the total output value of its animal husbandry and fishery within three years (1979-81). The output value of commune- and brigade-run enterprises will increase from 2,450 million yuan in 1978 to 3,500 or 4,000 million yuan in 1981. Great attention will also be given to developing forestry.

This represents a step further away from the old practice of putting one-sided emphasis on grain production to the neglect of other sectors. The plan aims at diversifying the rural economy.

Wang Zhiguo, secretary of the Hunan provincial Party committee, pointed out that the prevailing mistaken idea was that agriculture only meant cultivation of crops, or grain production to be specific. Now agriculture is regarded as an integral whole, consisting of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery. Efforts will be made to continue to develop grain production, but this must be proportionate to the growth of other productive undertakings in the countryside.

Hunan has a total area of 210,000 square kilometres, 62 per cent of which are mountain-



Commune members in Hunan's Tao-jiang County rafting bamboo down a river for sale to the state.

ous and hilly land. It has a large area of ponds, lakes and other surface water suitable for fish breeding. The climate is mild, with an annual precipitation of 1,300 to 1,400 millimetres. Thus it has the natural conditions for a diversified economy. At present, however, only 4.7 per cent of the total agricultural income is provided by forestry, 7 per cent of the province's 3.4 million hectares of farmland is sown to industrial crops, and the utilization of surface water is limited.

This kind of agricultural economy is obviously irrational. If the proportion between various sectors of agriculture were not readjusted to effect an all-round development of farming, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline occupations and fishery, the modernization of agriculture would be out of the

question and the living standards of the peasants could not be raised quickly.

According to the three-year plan, wasteland will be reclaimed for cultivation, mainly for growing industrial crops; the communes and their sub-divisions will be encouraged to expand their industrial and sideline production, and the total output of grain in the province will increase by 5 per cent annually.

Small Export Commodities Fair

The China National Textile Import and Export Corporation recently held a small fair of silks and artificial cotton fabrics in the summer resort of Beidaihe. It was attended by 88 businessmen from the United States, Switzerland, Italy, Japan, Singapore, Xianggang and Aomen.

Direct talks were held between the buyers and Chinese factory representatives and foreign trade personnel. Greater varieties and specifications of quality silks displayed at the fair resulted in transactions 50 per cent higher than originally planned.

The fair exhibited more than 100 varieties of silk, brocade, satin, silk muslin and artificial cotton fabrics. China has a long history of silk production, and the people living in areas on the lower reaches of the Chang-jiang River started producing silk yarn, ribbons and spun silk more than 4,000 years ago. The world famous "Silk Road"

was opened in the 2nd century B.C. Today Chinese silks are sold in 90 countries and regions.

At the fair, opinions and suggestions from foreign customers were solicited.

Similar fairs for chemicals and medicines, fruits and vegetables and clothing were held recently in other cities.

These fairs supplement the large export commodities fair held twice a year in Guangzhou. They are welcomed because they specialized in certain articles and the buyers have ample time for negotiations. With the nation's foreign trade expanding daily, more such fairs will be held in the future.

Earthquake Hits Inner Mongolia

An earthquake of magnitude 6 hit Wuyuan County (41 degrees North, 108 degrees East) in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region on August 25.

One hundred and four people were injured and over 400 houses collapsed as a result of the shocks. But no one died.

On behalf of the Party Central Committee and the State Council, Vice-Premier Bo Yibo went to the county on August 28 to extend sympathy and solicitude to the people of the affected area and encourage them to overcome the effects of the quake.



Visiting Places of Revolutionary Significance (II)

Nanchang, Jinggang Mountains And Zunyi

by Our Correspondents Qin Yun and Dai Wei

The People's Republic of China will celebrate its 30th birthday on October 1. Recently, our correspondents visited some places of significance in the history of the Chinese revolution. The series of reports written by them are brief accounts of major historic events which took place at these places between the birth of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 and the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. Following is the second instalment; the first appeared in our issue No. 34.

Nanchang Uprising

WE strolled down August 1st Avenue in Nanchang, capital of Jiangxi Province. It had just stopped raining. The avenue was washed clean and the trees were a glistening green. Where the ancient city walls once stood is now the longest and widest street in this city of 800,000 inhabitants. At the centre of the city is August 1st Square, where mass meetings are held. There is an August 1st Park in this city, with a lovely lake and

willows and well-tended flowerbeds. August 1 is a date the people of Nanchang and the rest of the country remember with pride. August 1, 1927, is a landmark in the history of the Chinese revolution.

On that day, in this city, the first shot was fired against the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang. Zhou Enlai, Zhu De¹, He Long², Ye Ting³, Liu Bochong and other comrades led units of the Northern Expeditionary Army commanded or strongly influenced by the Chinese Communist Party in an armed uprising, which marked the beginning of independent Communist leadership of the revolutionary war and the creation of a people's army by the Chinese Communist Party. In 1933, the Central Workers' and Peasants' Democratic Government formally designated August 1 as Red Army Memorial Day. After nationwide liberation in 1949, it was renamed the Chinese People's Liberation Army Day. "August 1" is emblazoned in gold on the red flag of the P.L.A.

The Nanchang citizens are very proud of their heroic city, and our hosts were very pleased to hear that we had come to visit the historic revolutionary sites. Like all who come to this city, we reverently visited the places connected with that historic uprising.

The headquarters of the uprising is still standing in Zhongshan Road, one of the busiest streets in the city. It was a hotel in 1927, billeting units which were to make the insurrection. It is now the August 1 Uprising Memorial Museum. In a big hall in this storeyed building, palace lanterns hung from the ceiling above orderly arranged tables and chairs. The custodian told us that this was where the commanders of the insurrectionists had met to make plans and dispositions. Off the hall

Nanchang Uprising (oil painting).



were rooms where they worked and rested. Comrade Zhou Enlai had occupied one of the rooms. All these rooms have been restored and they now look as they did at the time of the uprising. Others have been turned into exhibition rooms, filled with photos and memorabilia showing the whole course of the uprising.

A Lesson Paid in Blood

The Revolution of 1911 led by Dr. Sun Yat-sen put an end to the monarchy in China which had lasted for over 2,000 years. After the revolution, however, the greater part of China fell into the hands of feudal warlords who were manipulated by imperialist powers. In 1926, two years after the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Party had entered into co-operation, the two political parties jointly launched the Northern Expedition. Starting from Guangzhou in south China, then the centre of the Chinese revolution, the expeditionary army moved north. Important cities like Wuhan, Nanjing and Shanghai fell one after another into the hands of the expeditionary forces. But in April 1927 after these tremendous victories, Chiang Kai-shek, commander-in-chief of the Northern Expeditionary Army and head of the Right wing inside the Kuomintang, staged a counter-revolutionary coup and massacred a large number of Communists, workers and peasants. Confronted by these outrages, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Chen Duxiu adopted a Right opportunist line of conciliation and concession to the Kuomintang reactionaries. As a result, the dynamic revolution ended in tragic failure. But the bloodshed taught the Chinese Communists a lesson: to win victory in the revolution the proletariat must have its own armed forces and must lead the revolutionary war on its own. Consequently, the Party decided on an armed insurrection and building its own army to save the revolution.

The city of Nanchang is close to several southern provinces in China. The workers' movement in Nanchang and the peasants' movement in the neighbouring areas were on a relatively solid basis. Furthermore, there were only a relatively small number of reactionary troops, about 10,000 in all, quartered in Nanchang. On the other hand, the forces directly led by or under the influence of the Communist Party numbered about 30,000, of which a part was in Nanchang and the rest not far away. For these reasons Nanchang was chosen as the centre of the uprising.



The reception room at He Long's headquarters, where Comrade Zhou Enlai discussed with him the plan for launching the uprising.

The two contingents that were to participate in the uprising, the 24th Division and 20th Army of the Northern Expeditionary Army, under the command of Ye Ting, a Communist, and He Long respectively, were then stationed in Jiujiang, north of Nanchang. When Ye Ting and He Long were about to move on Nanchang, the chief of the Kuomintang Wang Jingwei and the commander-in-chief of the Second Front Army of the Northern Expeditionary Army Zhang Fakui issued urgent orders to Ye Ting and He Long to attend a council of war at Lushan, a famous summer resort near Jiujiang, with the vicious intent of stripping them of their military powers. Comrade Ye Jianying, then chief of staff of the Fourth Army of the Northern Expeditionary Army, learnt of this enemy plot and arranged for a meeting with Ye Ting and He Long in a small boat on a lake to discuss ways to deal with the situation. In the end, Ye and He decided not to go to Lushan but to move their troops immediately to Nanchang.

The uprising was under the leadership of the Front Committee of the Chinese Communist Party with Comrade Zhou Enlai as its secretary, who had arrived in Nanchang a few days before the uprising. He presided over the meetings of the Front Committee, and under his direction the general headquarters of the uprising was set up to make preparations.

At this moment Zhang Guotao (a delegate to the First Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1921 who later in 1938 betrayed the revolution and crossed over to the enemy), representing the Party Central Committee, sent two cables to the Front Committee, urging "extreme caution" and forbidding any decision

to be made until he got to Nanchang. As soon as he arrived in Nanchang, the Front Committee called a meeting and told him that everything was ready for the uprising. He was frightened out of his wits by enemy forces, he insisted that unless they had Zhang Fakui's approval the uprising was not to be started. Moreover, he even urged the Communists to withdraw from the army. Comrade Zhou Enlai roundly refuted this opportunist view and pointed out that Zhang Fakui was so obviously anti-Communist that it would never do to count on his support. The Communists must on no account leave the army and place themselves at the mercy of the enemy. On the contrary, Comrade Zhou said, we should organize revolutionary armed forces on our own to fight the armed forces of the reactionaries.

The meeting decided to start the uprising at 04:00 hours, August 1. But the time was advanced two hours when it was learnt that a deputy battalion commander had betrayed the secret to the enemy.

"I Obey Orders of the Communist Party"

We came to the building which had once been Comrade He Long's headquarters. This was a missionary school and it was closed for the summer vacation, when the armed uprising started. The outer walls of the building are still pitted with bullet and shell holes. Comrade He Long was then lodged in a very small room which was the office of the principal. The room adjoining it was a reception room. It was here that on July 28, 1927, Comrade Zhou Enlai relayed to Comrade He Long the Party's plan for an armed uprising and asked his views on it. "Fine," He Long said, "I'll obey every order of the Communist Party. I'll do whatever the Party wants me to." Thereupon, in the name of the Front Committee, Zhou Enlai appointed He Long commander-in-chief of the insurgent forces.

At that time He Long was not a member of the Communist Party. He joined the Party on the march south after the uprising. This fine son of a destitute peasant had worked in the fields with his father as a boy in Sichuan. The Revolution of 1911 had profoundly affected him, and unable to bear any longer the extortionate



Where Comrade Zhu De lived at the time of the uprising.

taxes and harsh levies of the local government, he armed himself with two kitchen knives and seized the arms of a salt tax bureau. Thus he began his life as a rebel. He saw with his own eyes that the warlords and politicians in the Kuomintang were after nothing but power and wealth for themselves. He saw, too, their depraved and licentious way of life. On the other hand, he saw how earnestly and conscientiously the Communists worked in the interests of the people and the nation. He realized that the hope of China resided in the Communist Party and he made up his mind to follow the Party in making revolution.

Above He Long's room lived Comrade Liu Bocheng, Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party today. He was the chief of staff of the insurgent forces.

Across the street from He Long's headquarters was the headquarters of the enemy troops in Nanchang. The information leaked by the traitor from our side sent the enemy hurriedly making preparations. When the battle started, the enemy cut off the advance of the insurgents with murderous gunfire from high positions. Under the direction of Comrades He Long and Liu Bocheng, the insurgent troops fought their way to occupy commanding heights to encircle and wipe out the enemy. The traitor who had tipped the enemy off was captured and duly punished.

Comrade Ye Ting's headquarters was housed in another school. In a classroom on

the first floor of an H-shaped storeyed building in this school, we saw a map of Nanchang hanging on the blackboard. From here, the frontline commander of the insurgent forces Ye Ting had briefed his officers on their operational plan. The troops he commanded were under the direct leadership of the Communist Party. During the Northern Expedition they had racked up a brilliant combat record, winning for themselves the proud title of "the Iron Contingent." When they went into action during the uprising, they shouted to the enemy: "We are the Iron Contingent. Lay down your arms and we spare your lives!" When the enemy troops heard it was the Iron Contingent that confronted them, they were so demoralized that most of them quickly surrendered.

A Trap for the Enemy

We went on to No. 2 Garden Corner in the northeastern part of the city. This was where Comrade Zhu De lived in 1927. In the central hall was a military camp bed with a mat. On arriving at Nanchang, Comrade Zhou Enlai had come here to talk with Comrade Zhu De about the plan for the uprising. He had spent the night on this bed. The room at the back was Zhu De's bedroom.

Comrade Zhu De had met Comrade Zhou Enlai in Germany in 1922 and the latter had been his sponsor for admittance into the Chinese Communist Party. He had returned to China in the summer of 1926. A sizable number of the Kuomintang troops stationed in Nanchang at the time of the uprising belonged to the Yunnan provincial army. As he was a brigade commander in the National Salvation Army of Yunnan Province when he took part in the 1915 uprising there against the warlord Yuan Shikai who was trying to make himself emperor, Zhu De enjoyed a high reputation among the Yunnan armymen. It was for this reason that the Party had put him in charge of the Officer Training Corps at Nanchang. Nominally affiliated to the Northern Expeditionary Army, the corps was in fact training military cadres for our Party. There were over 1,000 cadets billeted in an old building not far from Zhu De's house. A part of the building is still preserved. Zhu De was then concurrently head of the municipal public security bureau of Nanchang and had carried out revolutionary activities in this legitimate capacity.

On the evening of July 31, that is, the eve of the uprising, Zhu De gave a dinner for two

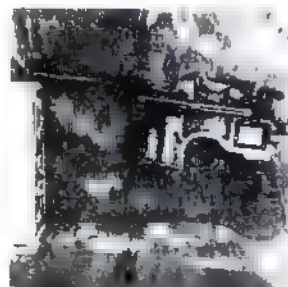
regimental commanders and other officers of the enemy in a restaurant. After dinner, they played mahjong. Then late at night when they were absorbed in the game, a dozen insurgent soldiers burst in and arrested all of them without a shot. Without their officers, the two enemy regiments had no one to command them. The Officer Training Corps and the police force under the command of Zhu De joined the uprising and wiped out the enemy troops in their vicinity.

After several hours of fierce fighting, firing ceased at daybreak on August 1. The enemy troops were wiped out and the uprising was a success. The people of Nanchang gathered in front of the general headquarters of the insurgent forces to jubilantly celebrate their victory.

News of the Nanchang Uprising had thrown the Kuomintang reactionaries into a state of panic. They hurriedly moved troops against Nanchang from different directions. On August 5, the insurgent forces left Nanchang to march south to Guangdong. As it was conducted mainly as a military movement, the peasants were not mobilized to carry out an agrarian revolution. Enormous losses were suffered in the battles fought against the enemy in Guangdong Province. Then Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi⁴ led their remaining forces to the areas bordering Guangdong, Jiangxi and Hunan to fight a guerrilla war. In January 1928, they started a peasant rebellion in southern Hunan, initiated an agrarian revolution and set up a political power of workers and peasants there. Later on, they led their men to join forces with Comrade Mao Zedong in the Jinggang Mountains.

Political Power Grows Out of the Barrel of a Gun

A week after the Nanchang Uprising, on August 7, 1927, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party called an urgent meeting at Hankou, at which the Right opportunist line of Chen Duxiu was repudiated and general guidelines were laid down for the agrarian revolution



The pistol carbine used by Zhu De during the uprising.

and armed opposition to the Kuomintang's policy of massacre. Comrade Mao Zedong, who attended the meeting, stressed the importance of armed struggle and set forth the well-known thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." On September 9, 1927, Comrade Mao Zedong organized the Autumn Harvest Uprising in the border regions of Hunan and Jiangxi Provinces. On December 11, 1927, the Guangzhou Uprising under the leadership of the Party broke out. By the end of 1929, the Party had initiated and led over 100 armed uprisings in different parts of China.

In summing up how the Chinese Communist Party came to realize the importance of armed struggle, Comrade Mao Zedong said that our Party had failed to grasp the importance of engaging directly in preparations for war and in the organization of armed forces for a period of three or four years, that is, from 1921 (when the Chinese Communist Party was founded) to 1924. After it participated in the Huangpu (Whampoa) Military Academy in 1924, it began to see the importance of military affairs. Through helping the Kuomintang in the wars in Guangdong Province (against the local warlords in the eastern part of the province) and participating in the Northern Expedition, the Party gained leadership over some armed forces. Then, having learnt a bitter lesson from the failure of the revolution, the Party organized the Nanchang Uprising, the Autumn Harvest Uprising and the Guangzhou Uprising, and entered a new period with the founding of the Red Army. That was the crucial period in which our Party arrived at a thorough understanding of the importance of the army.

This is the best assessment of the Nanchang Uprising.

NOTES

¹ Zhu De was a distinguished proletarian revolutionary and one of the founders of the People's Liberation Army. He had been Commander-in-Chief of the P.L.A. and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and Member of the Standing Committee of the Political Bureau of the C.P.C. Central Committee. He died on July 6, 1976.

² He Long was an eminent proletarian strategist. He had been Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Vice-Premier of the State Council. He was hounded to death by Lin Biao and the gang of four on June 9, 1969.

³ Ye Ting was from the end of 1937 onwards commander of the New Fourth Army under the leadership of the Communist Party and had con-

The Jinggang Mountain Road

WE set out from Nanchang by car and, after driving southwestward for about 300 kilometres, arrived in the Jinggang Mountain area. The car ground gratingly slowly up the mountain road. Looking out of the windows, we saw towering mountain peaks, each rising higher than the other. Over the verdant mountain slope wound the old path which appeared and vanished like a ribbon fluttering in the breeze. Before the highway which leads to the Jinggang Mountains was built in 1958, this was the only path in the mountains so one can imagine how difficult movement was at that time. Half a century ago, Comrade Mao Zedong had led his army up to the Jinggang Mountains over this same path, opening the way to victory for the Chinese revolution.

Building a Revolutionary Base Area

Situated at the border of the two provinces of Jiangxi and Hunan and the middle ridge of the Luoxiao Mountains, the Jinggang Mountains are strategically located and difficult of access but rich in natural resources. The hold the reactionary Kuomintang had here in those years was comparatively weak because of its remoteness from the big cities. During the great revolution of 1924-27, when the Chinese people fought the imperialist-backed feudal warlords, the Party led the local masses in waging many struggles. This is an ideal place for building a revolutionary base area.

Comrade Mao Zedong started and led the famous Autumn Harvest Uprising on September 9, 1927. The insurrectionists attacked Changsha, the capital of Hunan Province, along three

ducted guerrilla war against the Japanese invaders in the enemy rear in central China. In the winter of 1940, in the infamous anti-Communist Southern Anhui Incident engineered by the Kuomintang, he was wounded in action and captured. He maintained his political integrity and never yielded to the enemy while in prison. After repeated representations by our Party he was released on March 4, 1946. On April 8 the same year, he died in an aircraft crash on his way from Chongqing to Yanan.

⁴ Chen Yi failed to reach Nanchang in time for the uprising but he caught up with the insurgent forces on their way to the south. He was an eminent proletarian strategist, diplomat, as well as a poet. He had been Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, Vice-Premier of the State Council and concurrently Minister of Foreign Affairs. He died on January 6, 1972.

routes according to plan. When the situation became unfavourable, they assembled at Wenjiashi on the northeast border of Hunan. Where should they go? Comrade Mao Zedong proposed that the insurrectionary troops go southward along the Luoxiao Mountain ridge. Because of the failure of the great revolution and the occupation of key cities by the imperialists and the reactionary forces in China, the revolutionary forces which were weak at that time should not try to fight a decisive battle against the powerful enemy. They should build base areas in the countryside where the reactionary forces were weak, conserve and develop their forces, encircle the cities from the countryside and finally seize the cities and nationwide victory. His proposal was accepted by the majority.

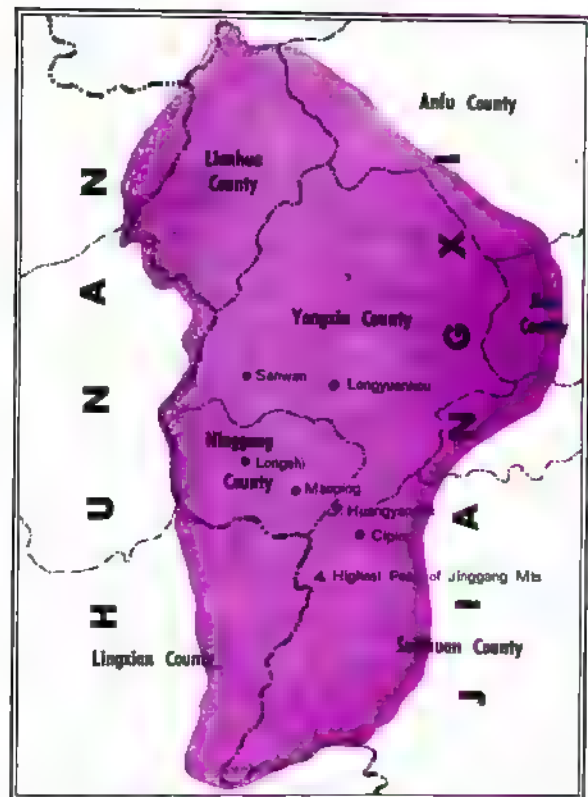
The revolutionary road charted by Comrade Mao Zedong is a typical example of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice in China.* The "Jinggang Mountain Road" as the people called it was later borne out by history as the only road leading the Chinese revolution to victory.

In October the same year, Mao Zedong led the army to the Jinggang Mountain area and started to build the revolutionary base area with Ninggang County as the centre.

We came to Maoping, a mountain village where the headquarters of the base area was once located and where two Party congresses of the base area had been held. In the village we met 67-year-old Zhang Guiting, a former Young Pioneer who had done sentry duty for the Red Army. He led us to visit the Octagonal Building, former residence of Comrade Mao Zedong. This two-storied small building was so named because of its octagonal skylight. There was an old-fashioned lamp using vegetable oil as fuel and an inkstone on the writing-desk in the room. The old man called our attention to the wick of the oil lamp and said that it was Comrade Mao Zedong who had made the decision to use only one wick in order to save oil.

During the period of fighting in the Jinggang Mountains, some people asked: How long could the red flag keep flying over the Jinggang Mountains? Answering this question, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote in 1928 the article *Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?* In it he expounded why one or more small

* Marxist-Leninist classics, proceeding from the conditions in capitalist countries, maintained that when the proletariat wages a revolution it must first occupy the cities and then seize the countryside.



**The Jinggang Mountain
Base Area**

areas under Red political power and completely encircled by a white regime can survive for a long time. Applying the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism, he analysed the actual conditions in China and came to a clear-cut conclusion. He said: "The small Red areas will undoubtedly last for a long time, and will also continue to expand and gradually approach the goal of seizing political power throughout the country." Comrade Mao Zedong's thesis greatly inspired the armymen and civilians in the base area.

As Zhang Guiting recounted the struggle in those years, he could not help humming to himself a popular song at that time: "The Big Dipper in the sky is sparkling, the lamp light in the octagonal attic is glittering, Party Central Committee Member Mao holds the lamp which illumines the way forward for the Chinese revolution. . . ."

Army Reorganization in Sanwan

After travelling northward from Maoping for 50 kilometres, we arrived at Sanwan Village, through which flows a clear, gurgling stream. Here Comrade Mao Zedong had reorganized the Autumn Harvest Uprising troops led by him.

Among the troops were workers, peasants, Party-led troops as well as some intellectuals and those who had come over from the Kuomintang army. Some who were affected by warlordism and the "employee" mentality of the old army became pessimistic and vacillated in the course of arduous struggle. Comrade Mao Zedong put forward the principle of making revolution on a voluntary basis: Those who want to stay with the Red Army may remain, and those who want to leave will be provided with travel expenses. The original division was reorganized into a regiment. With the army ranks purified, their fighting capabilities were enhanced.

Party members in the original army units were few, Party organizations were unsound and ideological and political work was weak. Comrade Mao Zedong proposed that a Party branch be set up in every company, Party groups in the squads and Party committees in the battalions and regiments. The supreme Party organ in the army was the Front Committee set up during the Autumn Harvest Uprising with Comrade Mao Zedong as secretary. In units above the company level there were Party representatives who took the posts of secretaries of Party branches or Party committees responsible for giving political training and guidance to mass movements.

Among the well-preserved revolutionary sites in Sanwan is a former site of the soldiers' committee. After the army reorganization, soldiers' committees were elected in army units above the company level in order to carry out the democratic system within the army. These committees took part in army management,

maintained army discipline, supervised the accounts of the army and upheld equality between officers and men. The soldiers were free to speak out at meetings and trivial courtesies were abolished.

In Sanwan Village there is a large piece of ground shaded by tall and leafy umbrella-shaped maple trees. Here, Mao Zedong had addressed the soldiers after the army reorganization which laid the groundwork for building a people's armed force.

In the Jinggang Mountain base area, Comrade Mao Zedong laid down for the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army these rules of discipline and points for attention: Obey orders in your actions; do not take anything from the masses; and turn in all things taken from local tyrants; pay fairly for what you buy; speak politely; and so on. Later, in the protracted revolutionary wars, these were being repeatedly revised and supplemented and finally developed into the famous Three Main Rules of Discipline and Eight Points for Attention* for the Chinese People's Liberation Army.

Combating Local Tyrants and Distributing the Land

On a wall of a village in the Jinggang Mountain area, there was a written slogan which, though faded by the elements over the years, was still legible. It read: "Peasant and worker comrades, unite now and distribute land!" There were many such slogans in the base area in those years. After the Red Army moved out, the reactionary rulers forced the peasants to scrape off these slogans. The peasants used mud to cover these slogans which

reflected their wishes. Later, after the reactionaries were driven out, the peasants washed away the mud to bring out the slogans again.

When the enemy invaded the base area, the revolutionary army assembled to deal with them. When the enemy troops were wiped out or driven away, the revolutionary troops dispersed to mobilize the peasants to attack the local tyrants and distribute land. In those years, most of the land were owned by a few landlords and rich peasants, while the poverty-stricken peasants

The Maple Tree Meadow in Sanwan.





Joining forces in the Jinggang Mountains (oil painting).

who made up the majority of the population had very little land. When the peasants were given a share of land which their forefathers had tried unsuccessfully to get, they were beside themselves with joy and united with the revolutionary army to defend the base area.

The comrade accompanying us told this story: A peasant named He Guoqing in Lianhua County joined the peasants' self-defence corps during the great revolution to fight landlord oppression. After the failure of the revolution, he went into hiding with his gun. The reactionaries announced reward for him dead or alive but they could not find him. Then they seized and interrogated his father, who was later burned alive. They seized his brother and persecuted his mother until the poor woman went out of her mind. But the enemy never managed to get the gun.

When the revolutionary troops returned, he reappeared with his gun. With the development of the movement to fight the local tyrants and distribute land, the peasants vied with each

* The Three Main Rules of Discipline: 1. Obey orders in all your actions. 2. Don't take a single needle or piece of thread from the masses. 3. Turn in everything captured.

The Eight Points for Attention: 1. Speak politely. 2. Pay fairly for what you buy. 3. Return everything you borrow. 4. Pay for anything you damage. 5. Don't hit or swear at people. 6. Don't damage crops. 7. Don't take liberties with women. 8. Don't ill-treat captives.

other to join the Red Guards. The one rifle possessed by the local armed force of the county had grown to over 200 rifles. This armed force co-ordinated with the revolutionary troops to capture the county seat. This story shows how important the agrarian revolution was to the mobilization of the peasants and the building of revolutionary base areas.

Through agrarian revolution, the Red regime was established and the workers and peasants took power into their own hands. Many of them who had tempered themselves in the revolutionary struggles joined the Party and thus expanded the Party organizations, which became the core of leadership in the struggle in the base area.

Joining Forces

Travelling southward from Sanwan for 32 kilometres, we arrived at Longshi, a small town, where Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De had joined forces and which is now the county seat of Ninggang. After his arrival in the Jinggang Mountains, Comrade Mao Zedong showed a great deal of concern for the army units which had taken part in the Nanchang Uprising. He sent people to contact them.

Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi led the remaining forces of the Nanchang Uprising to fight their way to the borders of Guangdong, Jiangxi and Hunan Provinces. When they learnt from enemy newspapers that Comrade Mao



Zhang Guiling (centre) telling visitors about the struggle in the Jinggang Mountains.

Zedong was leading his Autumn Harvest Uprising troops into the Jinggang Mountains to build a revolutionary base area, they were overjoyed and sent people to contact them. After overcoming many difficulties, they succeeded in establishing contact. Comrade Mao Zedong led some forces into Hunan Province so as to provide cover for the army units under Comrades Zhu De and Chen Yi moving to the Jinggang Mountains.

Then we came to the old site of the Longjiang Academy in the town. On April 28, 1928, Comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De met for the first time at this academy. Then we went to visit the "Joining Forces Square." On May 4 that year, 10,000 armymen and people had gathered there and, seated on the ground, they jubilantly celebrated the successful joining of forces. At the rally the establishment of the Fourth Army of the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army was announced and Mao Zedong was appointed its Party representative, Zhu De army commander, Wang Erzhao chief of staff (killed in August 1928) and Chen Yi, director of the political department. There were four regiments of 4,000 men forming the main Red Army force and another five peasant regiments in southern Hunan Province.

The joining of forces in the Jinggang Mountains was a milestone of the victorious advance of the Red Army. Panic-stricken, Chiang Kai-shek sent troops to "encircle and suppress." The Red Army repeatedly defeated the enemy by applying the guerrilla tactics which were to become famous: "The enemy advances, we retreat; the enemy camps, we harass; the enemy tires, we attack; the enemy retreat, we pursue."

Then we went northeast of Longshi to Longyuankou in the mountains. The comrade with us told us that a bitterly contested battle had been fought here. In June 1928 the Red Army lured the enemy troops in and encircled and annihilated them. Comrade Zhu De, the front-line commander, personally manned a gun to suppress enemy fire power. The visor of his cap was pierced by two enemy bullets. This battle, in which one enemy regiment was wiped out, two others were routed and over 1,000 rifles captured, became known as the great victory of Longyuankou.

After this battle, the revolutionary base area in the Jinggang Mountains reached its peak of development. The base area embraced Ninggang, Yongxin and Lianhua Counties, part of Jian and Anfu Counties, the northern part of Suichuan County and the southeastern part of Lingxian County. (See map.)

From Huangyangjie Roars the Thunder of Guns

We went up Huangyangjie 1,800 metres above sea level. When we looked down from the mountain height, we saw mountain peaks amidst swirling clouds, like ships sailing on the sea. There were still traces of battle positions. Inscribed on a tablet was the text of Comrade Mao Zedong's poem *Jinggangshan*, describing the battle that took place there. The poem reads:

*Below the hills fly our flags and banners,
Above the hilltops sound our bugles and drums.*

*The foe encircles us thousands strong,
Steadfastly we stand our ground.*

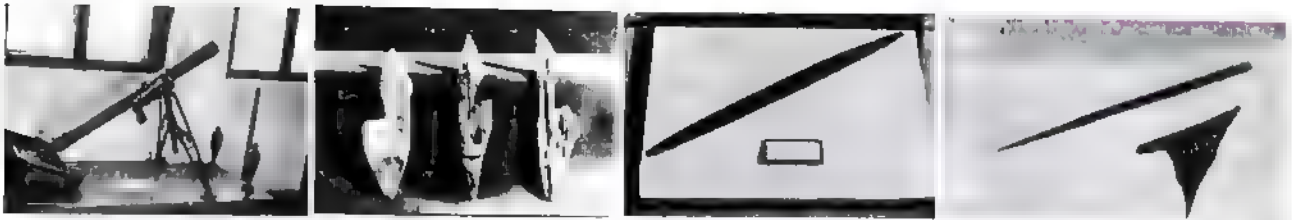
*Already our defence is iron-clad,
Now our wills unite like a fortress.*

From Huangyangjie roars the thunder of guns,

Word comes the enemy has fled into the night.

Huangyangjie is one of five major passes around the main peak of the Jinggang Mountains. The passes guard a mountain area with a circumference of 275 kilometres. This was one of the militarily important centres of the revolutionary base area, with a Red Army hospital, an arsenal and stocks of grain.

In July 1928 when the enemy moved four regiments against Huangyangjie, our Red Army had only one battalion to defend the mountains. To fight the enemy, men and women, old and



Left to right: Local-made cannon used in the battle to defend Huangyangjie; Bamboo spikes; Shoulder-pole used by Zhu De to carry grain up the mountains; Marking pole used during the distribution of land and a pennant.

young, all went into action. They planted bamboo spikes on the roadside, piled up stones in the passes. When the enemy was climbing up along the mountain path, the Red Army men who were in vantage points fired down the path at the oncoming enemy. Panic-stricken, the enemy took to the sides of the road and many were impaled by the bamboo spikes. Then the stones came tumbling down, crushing the enemy troops in their path.

The reactionary troops launched three assaults in a row but were beaten back each time. Nevertheless, they launched a fourth offensive. The Red Army shelling the enemy headquarters scored a direct hit and threw them into further confusion. Then masses of peasants appeared on the mountain tops, with swords, spears and red flags. Firecrackers exploding inside tin buckets rattled like machine guns. The enemy fled under cover of night, thinking the main force of the Red Army had returned.

The battle demonstrated the power of people's war. Learning the news about the victorious battle in defence of Huangyangjie, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote the poem *Jinggangshan*.

Ciping is located about 27 kilometres south of Huangyangjie, at a col near the main peak of the Jinggang Mountains. At the foot of the mountains is a shady circular tree-lined road. Along the road are a revolutionary museum, a guest house, stores, a restaurant, schools, a hospital and a sanatorium, all built after liberation. In the centre of the tree-lined road is a tract of paddy field.

At the eastern foot of the mountains is an old street, the same as it was when Mao Zedong and Zhu De and other comrades had lived there.

In the winter of 1928, when the reactionaries again mounted a converging attack on the Jinggang Mountains, part of the Red Army led by Comrade Peng Dehuai remained to defend the mountain stronghold while Comrade Mao Ze-

dong led the main force to thrust into southern Jiangxi and western Fujian to open up new base areas. Ciping was one of the places where the Red Army started its march into southern Jiangxi and western Fujian which were later expanded to become the central revolutionary base area with Ruijin as the centre.

After the Jinggang Mountain base area was established, the Party went on to build rural revolutionary base areas in Hubei, Hunan, Henan, Anhui, Zhejiang, Guangdong, Guangxi, Sichuan and Shaanxi Provinces. The Red Army had swelled to 100,000 men in the first half of 1930, and then to 300,000 men by the spring of 1933. A spark lit in the Jinggang Mountains started a prairie fire throughout the country.

Zunyi City and the Meeting

SITUATED on the north plateau of China's southwest Guizhou Province, Zunyi is walled in by green hills. A small river cuts across the city proper, dividing the old city on its west bank from the new on its east bank. When it was liberated in 1949, it was a consumer city with a population of 30,000, but it has since grown into an industrial city of 300,000 people, a city with the metallurgical, machine-building, electronic, chemical, building material, power and silk industries.

The name Zunyi is familiar to the Chinese people because it was here that the Sixth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party held an enlarged meeting of its Political Bureau nearly half a century ago when the Chinese Red Army and the Chinese revolution were at a critical moment. At this meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership over the whole Party was affirmed and the Party's line was shifted on to the Marxist-Leninist road. This saved the Red Army and the Chinese revolution. Under the command of Comrade Mao Zedong, the Red Army victoriously completed the epic 12,500-

SPECIAL FEATURE

kilometre Long March. The meeting has thus become famous as the Zunyi Meeting.

We went to visit the site of the meeting in the old city. A grey two-storey building encircled by a veranda with vermilion rails stands in the middle of a garden. It was originally owned by a division commander of the reactionary army, who fled when the Red Army came. The Red Army set up its headquarters there.

Upstairs there is a conference room with chairs and a long table. The historic Zunyi Meeting took place there in January 1935. Wang Jiaxiang, Mao Zedong, Liu Shaoqi, Zhang Wentian, Chen Yun, Zhou Enlai and Bo Gu (Qin Bangxian), then Members of the Political Bureau, and Deng Fa, Zhu De and Kai Feng, then Alternate Members of the Political Bureau, and other comrades took part in the meeting. A kerosene lamp with a glass shade hangs over the table, indicating that the meeting remained in session day and night. Under the table there is a charcoal-burning brazier for use in the cold weather.

The Critical Moment

The erroneous "Left" line represented by Wang Ming began to predominate in the Party from January 1931 onward. Proceeding not from the actual conditions in China, its proponents treated Marxism as dogma and applied it mechanically. They dealt ruthless blows at those whose opinions differed from theirs. As a result, nearly all the underground Party forces in the white area were destroyed. The provisional Party Central Committee could no longer stay in Shanghai and had to move to the Jiangxi Province Central revolutionary base area established by Comrade Mao Zedong at the head of

the Red Army. Here and in other rural revolutionary base areas as well, they continued to enforce their "Left" line. This caused a loss of 90 per cent of the forces in the base areas all over the country.

During the period from the end of 1930 to July 1931, Chiang Kai-shek mounted three "encirclement and suppression" campaigns against the central revolutionary base area by employing 100,000, 200,000 and 300,000 troops in sequence. They were all crushed by the Red Army led by Comrade Mao Zedong.

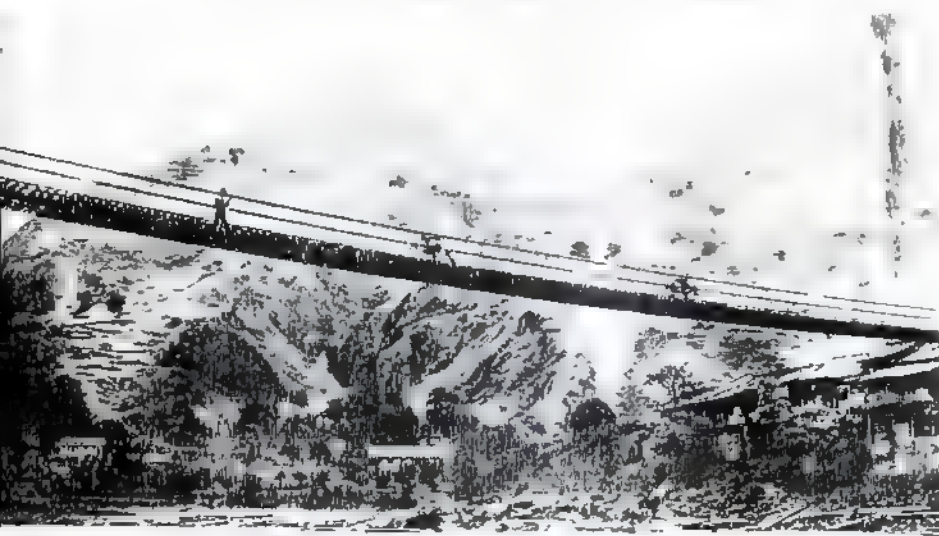
In February 1933, Chiang Kai-shek launched a fourth campaign to "encircle and suppress" the revolutionary base area, this time with 500,000 troops. At that time, Mao Zedong had been ousted from the leadership by the "Left" line. But since his thinking had a profound influence among the Red Army units and the erroneous military line had not yet been fully implemented, the Red Army led by Zhou Enlai and Zhu De was able to defeat the enemy's suppression campaign.

In October the same year, Chiang Kai-shek moved a million troops for a fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign. Half of them were used to attack the Central base area. The enemy built pillboxes around the base area and converged on it step by step. Comrade Mao Zedong suggested that the Red Army use its main force to fight a battle within the heartland of the enemy-occupied area so as to force the troops threatening the base area to retreat. This would extricate the base area from enemy encirclement. But the leaders advocating the "Left" line did not listen to this correct suggestion. They divided the Red Army forces for a passive defence.

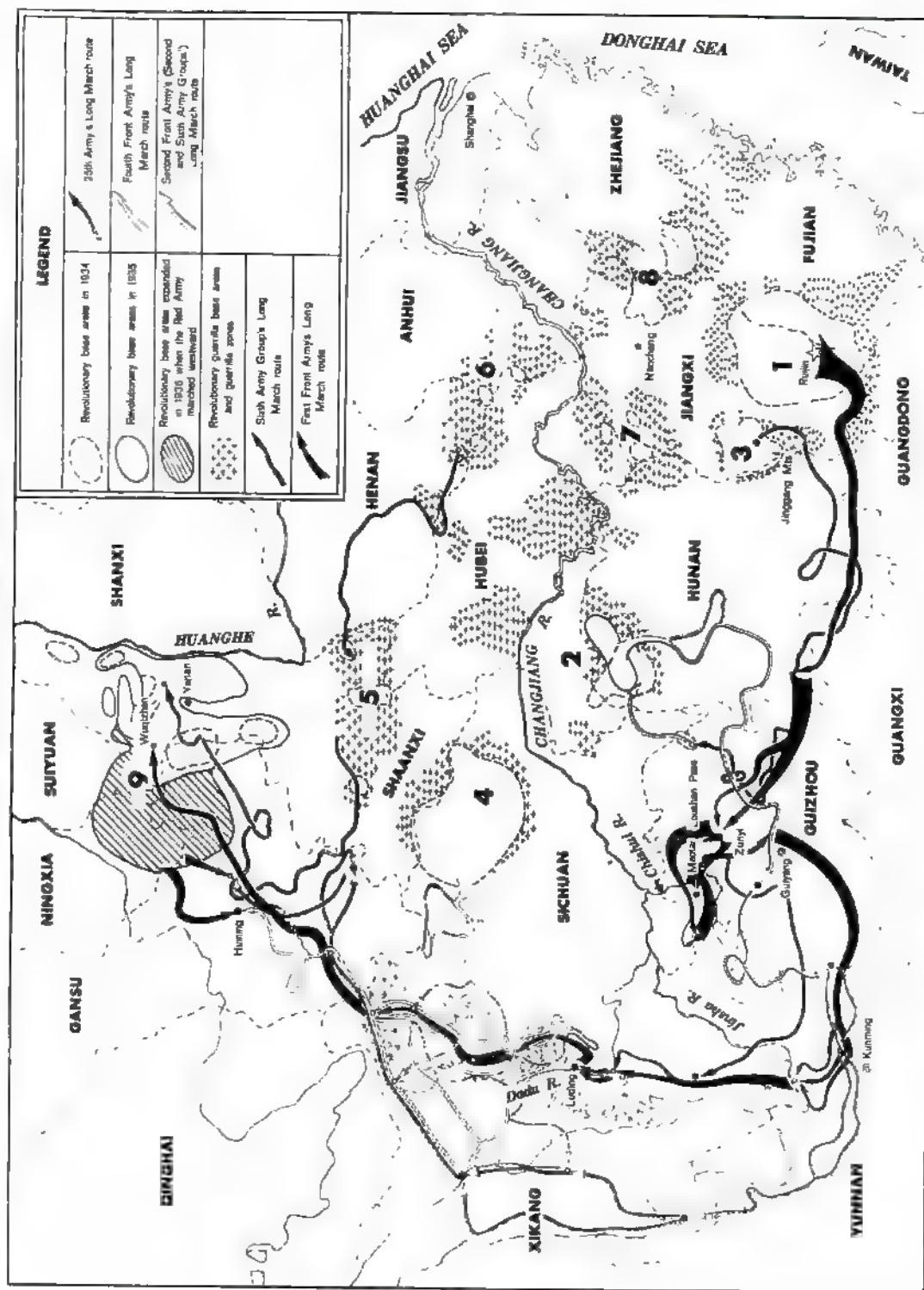
As the battle went on, the revolutionary armed forces began to crumble and the base area dwindled. The Central Red Army was finally forced to withdraw from its base area in October 1934 and begin its Long March.

During the initial stage of the march, under the erroneous guidance of the "Left" line, the Red Army suffered serious losses. After they broke through the four blockade lines set by the enemy along the route, the Red Army men decreased from some 80,000 when they had started out to around 30,000.

The iron chain bridge over the Dadu River where the Red Army made a forced crossing during their Long March.



SKETCH MAP OF THE LONG MARCH OF THE CHINESE WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' RED ARMY



1. Central revolutionary base area
2. Hunan-Hubei-Sichuan-Guizhou revolutionary base area
3. Hunan-Jiangxi revolutionary base area
4. Sichuan-Shaanxi revolutionary base area
5. Hubei-Henan-Shaanxi revolutionary base area
6. Hubei-Henan-Anhui revolutionary base area
7. Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi revolutionary base area
8. Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi revolutionary base area
9. Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia revolutionary base area

At that time, the enemy learnt that the "Left" leadership wanted to join the Central Red Army with the Second Front Army of the Red Army in western Hunan Province, so they massed a large contingent on the route to western Hunan before the arrival of the Red Army. This notwithstanding, the erroneous leadership stuck to its original idea; and without doubt the Red Army would have met with total defeat if it had headed for western Hunan. Comrade Mao Zedong suggested that the Red Army march instead into Guizhou Province where enemy forces were weak. This was carried out with the approval of most of the comrades on the Military Commission of the C.P.C. Central Committee. After defeating the enemy garrison the Red Army crossed the Wujiang River which runs through the middle of the province and arrived at Zunyi.

Mao Zedong Saved the Revolution

A mimeographed resolution adopted by the Zunyi Meeting — Resolution on the Summary of Opposing the Five Enemy "Encirclement and Suppression" Campaigns — is on exhibition at the site. The document reflects the fierce struggle during the meeting. Owing to lack of understanding of the serious nature of the erroneous line, the main leader in the Central Committee at that time attributed the Red Army's failure to smash the fifth enemy "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the central base area to the strength of the imperialists and the Kuomintang reactionaries. Mao Zedong and other comrades criticized the "Left" line at the meeting and with the support of the majority of the comrades present, their resolution was adopted. It pointed out that the main reason for the Red Army's failure to smash the fifth enemy "encirclement and suppression" campaign was due to the erroneous military line pushed by the leadership of the "Left" line.

At the meeting, a Group in Charge of Military Affairs under the Central Committee was formed by Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Wang Jiaxiang, and the central secretariat was re-organized, with Zhang Wentian as the General Secretary of the Party Central Committee. The meeting established Comrade Mao Zedong's leadership over the entire Party and affirmed the policy of the Red Army marching north to fight against the Japanese aggressors, thus ending the rule of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line in the Party Central Committee. At that time, in the wake of its occupation of China's northeast, the Japanese imperialists were marching down into north China. The Chinese nation

was confronted with a crisis of life and death. To fight the Japanese aggressors was the most urgent historical task of the Chinese Communists and the whole nation.

Downstairs there was an office for the general staff. A military map of Guizhou Province covered the whole wall on one side. On it, red banners were planted in Zunyi and other neighbouring counties, indicating that they were controlled by the Red Army. Blue banners were fixed on scores of cities in which the enemy was entrenched. In those days, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and other comrades worked in this office, often round the clock, directing war operations.

Not far from the meeting site towards the north, there was a Catholic church. After the conclusion of the Zunyi Meeting, the Red Army held a meeting of its cadres in the church. At the meeting, Comrade Mao Zedong relayed the spirit of the Zunyi Meeting to all the army officers. He analysed the revolutionary situation and pointed out the bright future of the Long March, which greatly encouraged all the participants. As the church had fallen into disrepair, state funds were allocated last year to rebuild it. During our visit, we saw workers decorating the outer wall with care.

Four Operations Across the Chishui River

Zunyi comrades suggested that we have a look at the Chishui River. A tributary of the Changjiang (Yangtze) River, it runs between Guizhou and Sichuan Provinces. After the Zunyi Meeting, under the command of Comrade Mao Zedong, the Red Army forced the crossing of the Chishui River on four occasions (see map on p. 19), all for the purpose of shaking off the encirclement, pursuit, obstruction and interception by several hundred thousand enemy troops. The Red Army employing feints, ambushes, and deceptive manoeuvres succeeded in making a breakthrough.

Driving northwest for 200 kilometres on a mountain road, we arrived at a small town called Tucheng where the Red Army crossed the Chishui River for the first time. At that time, Chiang Kai-shek had 150 regiments deployed there, hoping to wipe out the Red Army in the northern part of Guizhou Province. As the Red Army had defeated the enemy north of Zunyi and crossed the Chishui, it had originally intended to continue its march north across the Changjiang. The changed situation rendered it impossible to cross the Changjiang, therefore the Red Army moved eastward, crossed the Chishui River for the second time, and recaptured Zunyi.

This battle was known as the Zunyi Battle. A total of 20 enemy regiments were annihilated. This was the first victorious battle the Central Red Army had fought since the beginning of the Long March. The "natural barrier" Loushan Pass was the gateway to Zunyi in the north. The Red Army once fought a fierce battle there and wiped out the enemy garrison. A marble tablet erected at the Pass was inscribed with a poem written by Comrade Mao Zedong at that time:

*Idle boast the strong pass is a wall of iron,
With firm strides we are crossing its
summit. . . .*

We reached Maotai after travelling more than 100 kilometres southward from Tucheng. We were greeted by a strong scent of wine — a special, high-quality wine produced in Maotai. The world-famous Maotai wine is made from the green water of the Chishui River by a local traditional method. The people of the town are proud of their wine, but they are even prouder of their help to the Red Army which crossed the Chishui River there for the third time.

After this, the Red Army made a feint to march north to cross the Changjiang River. Taking this for a genuine move, Chiang Kai-shek hastily dispatched troops north. But the Red Army crossed the Chishui River for the fourth time, turned southward and closed in on Guiyang, the provincial capital of Guizhou. Then the main force of the Red Army thrust westward into the neighbouring Yunnan Province and marched towards its capital Kunming. With the enemy completely bewildered, the Red Army suddenly turned north and shook loose from the enemy by a forced crossing of the Jinsha River on the upper reaches of the Changjiang River in nine days and nights. By the time enemy troops reached the Jinsha, the Red Army had made good its escape.

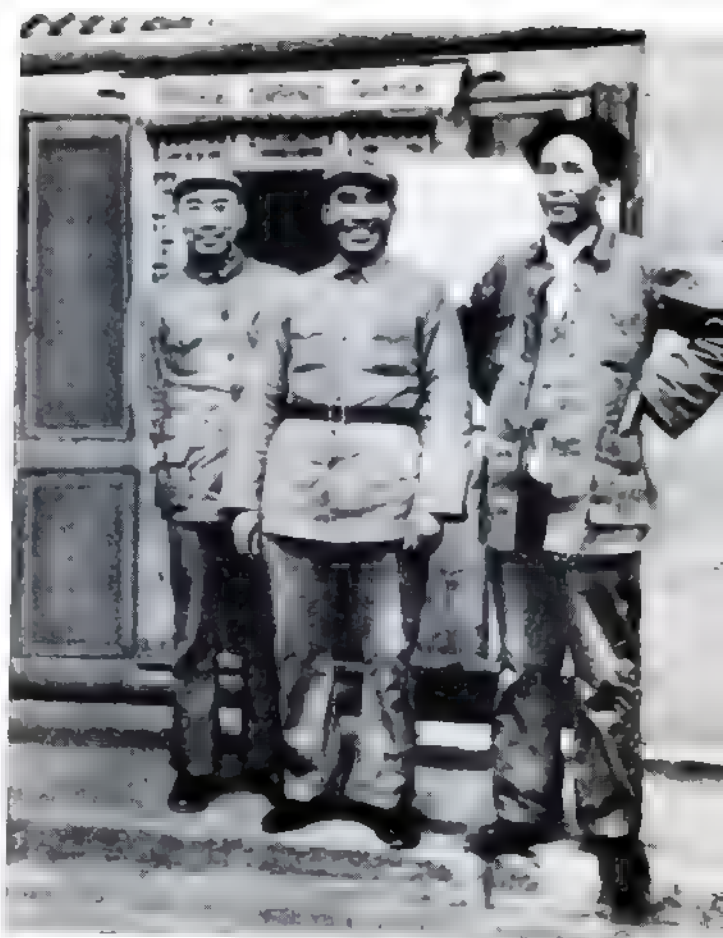
Holding Light Ten Thousand Crags And Torrents

We saw many valuable historical relics, documents and photos in the exhibition room of the site of the Zunyi Meeting. They brought home to us the lines of Comrade Mao Zedong's famous poem *The Long March*:

*The Red Army fears not the trials of the
Long March,*

*Holding light ten thousand crags and
torrents.*

Visitors listened in rapt attention to the guide's description of how the revolutionaries of the older generation during the Long March



Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai (left) and Zhu De (centre) in northern Shaanxi Province after the Long March.

climbed over snow-capped mountains and crossed the marshy grassland where human beings seldom set foot. The Red Army men were thinly clad, poorly fed and tired. They had little ammunition left. In spite of all this, the Central Red Army fought battles all through its 12,500-kilometre Long March and arrived at northern Shaanxi in October 1935 under the leadership of Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and the group of outstanding revolutionaries united around them. The main forces of the Front Armies of the Red Army also arrived at northern Shaanxi in succession after long marches from their respective base areas. The Long March ended in triumph. The Chinese revolution embarked on a new high tide centring on armed resistance against the Japanese aggressors.

Walking out of the exhibition room, we saw an eye-catching slogan on the wall: "Warm welcome to the youth shock brigade in the new Long March!" A meeting of the Guizhou Province Youth Shock Force in the New Long March was being convened in Zunyi. We were drawn back to the present from our historical reminiscences. The Chinese people have begun a new Long March towards socialist modernization.

Building a "Green Great Wall"

by Li Yigong, Huang Zhenggen and Fu Shanglun

A gigantic scheme to plant the northern part of China with shelter belts is being carried out. The following on-the-spot report provides some background material and explains the whys and wherefores of the plan.

SPRING is usually the windy season for northwest, northeast and north China. In spring this year, when the work for planting a protective forest belt in this vast region was initiated, we made a long-distance trip through the region from north to northwest along the line attacked by wind-driven sand.

When we arrived at Yanan in northern Shaanxi Province, a local comrade told us that a flood brought on by a 150-mm downpour in July 1977 had rushed down from the neighbouring highland to inundate more than half of Yanan. We could still see traces of the flood along the way.

The Yanan flood led us to think about the water loss and soil erosion problem of the loess plateau. This is the world's largest loess plateau, with an area of more than 400,000 square kilometres on the upper and middle

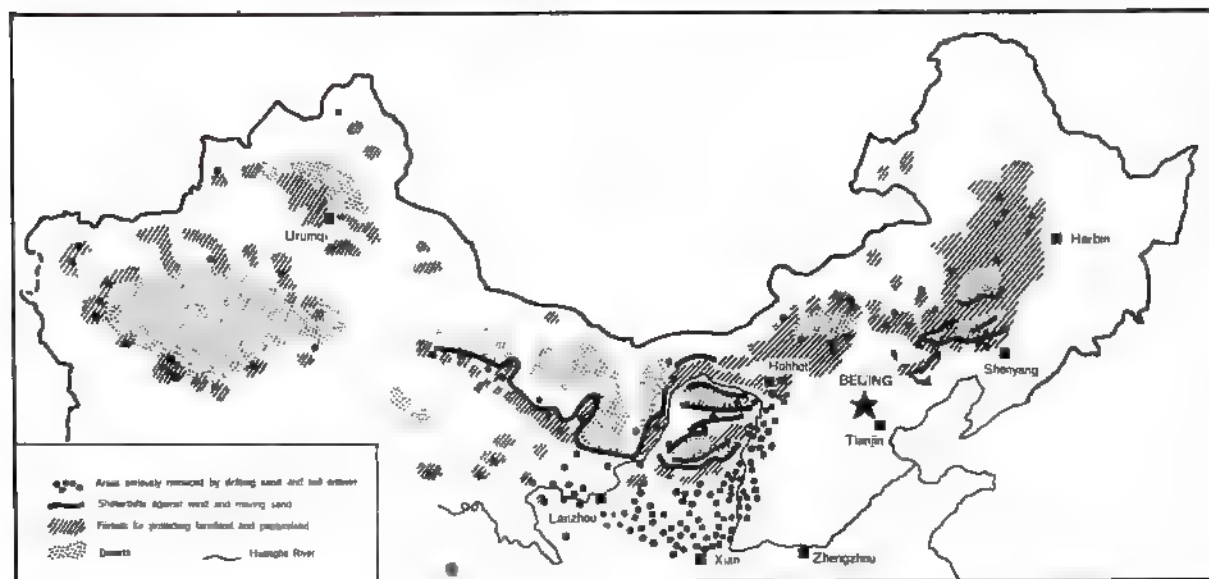
reaches of the Huanghe (Yellow) River. The silt washed down from this plateau averages 3,000 tons per square kilometre every year. What causes this devastating erosion every year?

On our way north from Yanan to Yulin, we saw a continuous succession of gullies and barren hilltops which seemed to be telling us: "It's because we are naked. We aren't covered by trees or grass!"

We continued our journey westward from the loess plateau and reached Jiayuguan, an important town in the western part of Gansu Province, where we started up the track of the ancient "Silk Road."* From then on, our eyes met nothing but tract after tract of yellow desert. Natural conditions are harsh, and the

* It refers to the ancient road which traversed nearly the whole of Asia. The eastern terminal started at China's Changan (today's Xian) and the western terminal ended on the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, from where people went on to Rome. In the thousand years and more since the second century B.C., a large amount of Chinese silk and silk fabrics was transported westward over this route, hence the "Silk Road."

SKETCH MAP OF THE "GREEN GREAT WALL"



damage wrought by wind-drift sand is serious. One of the reasons is also a lack of a vegetable cover.

Since we entered the desert, trees have become ever dearer to us day by day. Whenever we saw a tree, it seemed that we saw life and hope. We would shout when we glimpsed a tree: There is one! There is another one! But what made us really understand the value of trees and bushes in this belt of sand-driving wind in the northern part of China was a storm we ran into in the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region.

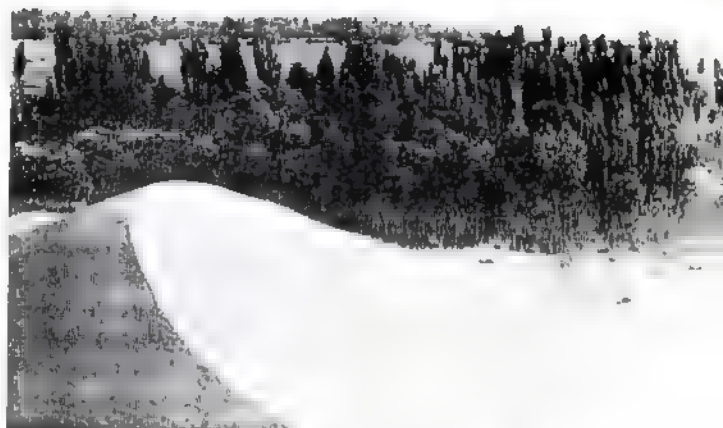
On April 10 when we were on our way from Shihezi to the No. 105 State Farm in the Gurbantunggut Desert, we were suddenly overtaken by a snowstorm. As the wind blew harder and stronger, the sand it carried turned the snow-white world before us into a "yellow sea." The yellow windstorm tossed our car as if it were a small boat in an angry sea. It was the protective forest on both sides of the highway which stopped our car from being overturned.

When we reached Turpan County on the third day, we found that the snowstorm there had been even more serious than what we had encountered. The poles carrying high-tension transmission lines along the road were either aslant or snapped; all the windows and glass of automobiles caught were gone and the paint work was scratched and badly abraded by flying sand. The mud walls of the houses in the villages seemed to have been rasped by huge files.

The calamities caused by flood in Yanan and the storm in Xinjiang brought home to us a stern fact: Damage by wind and moving sand, water and soil erosion in the northern part of China is indeed really serious. No wonder the local cadres and masses were overjoyed when they learnt that the State Council had decided to plant protective forests in the area. They described it as building a "Green Great Wall" bringing benefit to the present as well as the generations to come.

Comrades familiar with the afforestation plan told us the following:

The northwest, the northern part of north China and the western part of the northeast make up one-fourth of the land surface of the country, embracing Xinjiang, Ningxia and Inner Mongolia (all autonomous regions), Qinghai and Gansu and parts of six other provinces.



A link in the forest belt, Turpan County, Xinjiang. To check drifting sand, the county planted 1,400 kilometres of protective forests.

Nearly half of the 260 million hectares in this area is desert. On top of this, there was a 5,000-kilometre-long wind belt. The area has 324 counties (banners) and a rural population of 44 million. Some places are hit by big or small sandstorms nearly three months a year. Such serious natural adversities rule out flourishing farms and animal husbandry, so the local people's lives are very hard.

According to the plan, upon the completion of the first stage of the project by 1985, 5.3 million hectares will be covered by various kinds of protective forests. (See sketch map.) When the plan has been fulfilled, shelter belts in the agricultural and agricultural-pastoral districts menaced by sandstorms will account for 10 per cent of their total area instead of 4 per cent at present; and the area covered by forests in the middle reaches of the Huanghe River where there is serious water loss and soil erosion will be raised from the present 5 per cent to 18 per cent of the total. This will bring initial results in protecting local farmland and pastures, transforming the environment and improving economic conditions.

The storm we had encountered in Xinjiang made us fear calamitous losses to farming in the Turpan Basin, but to our surprise, we found clear water running in the water-courses, vines of the famous seedless white grape green and untouched, and the roads usable. What sheltered this oasis from the fury of the storm? It was the 1,300 hectares of trees and the 4,600 hectares of bushveld and grassland planted years ago.

In northern Shaanxi, while we were being briefed on the calamities caused by the flood in the summer 1977, we also heard a different story of the flood in some places. It all depended on whether there were trees and grass covering the land.

Some areas in the northern part of China have always been bare of trees and grass. But there were also many areas which had good arable farmland and pastures with grass and green trees. War and indiscriminate felling over the years had turned them into barren unproductive places at the mercy of wind and sand.

Historical records also reveal that over the years, as there was no natural barrier of trees

and grass in certain areas in the northern part of China, fierce winds roared through unchecked, driving sand southwards to bury towns, villages, farms and roads and waterways. Cities renowned in history along the "Silk Road" have been swallowed by this vast moving "yellow sea."

At this important juncture when our country has begun its march towards modernization, the Party and government's decision to plant protective forests in the northern part of China has great appeal to the people. During our trip, we saw millions of people working to carry out this gigantic project. The "Green Great Wall" will arise to protect the northern part of our country like the Great Wall in ancient times.

Hoang Van Hoan's Statement

— On Being Expelled From Vietnamese Communist Party

"I have in fact anticipated my expulsion from the Party by Le Duan. This decision, which defies the will of true Communists, cannot in the least sway my determination to continue the revolution."

On September 1 Comrade Hoang Van Hoan issued a statement in Beijing condemning the recent decision made by the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party, which is under Le Duan's control, to expel him from the Party. The statement reads in full as follows:

THE Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Vietnamese Communist Party under the thumb of Le Duan recently decided to expel me from the Party. This prompts me to state the following:

The Vietnamese Communist Party is a great Party founded and nurtured by President Ho Chi Minh. Over the decades, the people of my country, under the leadership of the Party, fought dauntlessly and heroically and succeeded

in completely emancipating their land from the yoke of imperialism and feudalism and making it an independent and democratic country, thereby contributing to the common revolution-



Photo of Hoang Van Hoan in Beijing.

ary cause of the people of the world. This is something the Vietnamese Communists may well be proud of.

However, after 1965, President Ho's health steadily deteriorated. Le Duan, availing himself of the opportunity presented by this, resorted to underhanded means to usurp the leadership of the Party step by step. In particular, after the death of President Ho, he and his associates actually gained complete control of the Party. They used every conceivable means to fill key posts with their kinsfolk and sworn followers.

In addition, they made it a rule that there must be representatives of the public security departments in the various departments of the Party and on the Party committees at all levels. These men are to keep the Party committees under their watch and to spy on those who do not belong to their clique. Often those under surveillance are persecuted on trumped-up charges.

By such actions, Le Duan and his followers have thrown overboard the principle of inner Party democracy and Party members dare not speak their minds about the affairs of the Party and the state. Even the Central Committee and the Political Bureau have ceased to function as organs of collective leadership. Absolutism and high-handedness, flattery and sycophancy, graft and embezzlement as well as bullying and fleecing of the people prevail throughout the Party from the central authorities down to the provincial, municipal, county and district offices.

At the Fourth Party Congress in 1976, Le Duan in his political report attributed to himself all the credit for the splendid victories won by the whole nation in the wars of resistance — wars in which the people had made unimaginable sacrifices. He styled himself as the wisest of Marxists and indoctrinated the cadres and masses with big-nation chauvinism.

As for the line to be followed in the new era of socialist revolution, he merely put forward some hollow-sounding formulations such as the dictatorship of the proletariat, people as masters in collective and large-scale socialist production. What is more, he hid the truth from the people about what are the distinctions between the socialist revolution and the revolution for national liberation, who represents the main force on which the Party must rely in socialist revolution, and how socialist revolution should be made.

In his analysis of the international situation, he likewise produced only empty phrases such as "the three great tides of revolution," and denied the Party membership information about the differentiation within the international communist movement and the socialist camp, the struggles going on between the various forces in the national independence movement and the changes that have taken place in the line and policy followed by the workers movement in the capitalist countries.

With regard to the five-year plans, he listed a host of favourable conditions, while whitewashing the errors in the guidelines for economic work. Meanwhile, he fixed absolutely unrealistic and inflated targets so as to aggrandize himself and fool the people.

At the same Party Congress, Le Duan and company barred one-third of the members of the previous Party Central Committee from participating in the new one and put some sworn followers in their place and even included some whose political record was questionable and whom President Ho Chi Minh had objected to admitting to the Central Committee during the Third Party Congress.

Since the Fourth Party Congress, Le Duan has made himself the overlord of the Party. He and his band, sitting on the backs of the Party and the people, have done much that goes counter to the aspirations of the people as well as the principles of a genuine Marxist-Leninist Party and some of the things they have done defy imagination.

In spite of all this, I still maintained my position as a Communist, waging struggles with them, while doing what I could to serve the revolution and the people.

However, in 1978, a number of events occurred which plunged the future of our nation in danger. The Fourth Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee held in July of that year passed a resolution which scurrilously accused China of harbouring the intention of "annexing" Viet Nam. It pinpointed China as Viet Nam's immediate enemy and decided to get rid of the "Maoists in Peking" and help the "progressive forces," that is, the "anti-Mao forces," to power. It called on the departments of propaganda and education to thoroughly criticize "Maoist ideology" in all its aspects and sent people abroad to try to engage other Southeast Asian countries to join in their anti-China campaign.

This shows beyond any shadow of doubt that the wild ambition of Le Duan and his associates, which cannot bear the light of day, is to subvert and change the Chinese leadership and not merely to oppose what they have repeatedly called China's "aggression."

To attain this treacherous and fantastic aim, which is in any case quite beyond their power, they had to turn to some external force for support. They concluded with a foreign power a treaty which is essentially a military alliance so as to carry out their adventurist activities and menace their neighbouring countries. Hardly was the ink on the treaty dry when they embarked on the invasion and occupation of Kampuchea.

From the above-stated facts, I have come to the conclusion that Le Duan is a man intoxicated with personal ambitions. He led the Party away from the revolutionary line, betrayed the interests of the people and endangered the whole future of our nation. Hence my firm opposition.

I have in fact anticipated my expulsion from the Party by Le Duan. This decision, which defies the will of true Communists, cannot in the least sway my determination to continue the

revolution. I have remarked in the message to my fellow-countrymen dated August 9: "Old and infirm as I am, I will do my utmost for the common revolutionary cause of the people of Viet Nam and of the world so long as I have a breath left."

This statement is published today on the eve of the tenth anniversary of the passing away of President Ho Chi Minh and the 34th anniversary of the founding of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam. My thoughts turn to his undying accomplishments in founding the Party and leading the revolution, and to the dynamic revolutionary drive of the masses following the August Revolution. Contrasting the present with the past makes me even more worried about the future of my motherland. I am sure that every true Communist in Viet Nam shares my distress.

All true Communists in Viet Nam, unite and together with the people struggle resolutely to smash the fascist rule of Le Duan and company so as to save the revolution and our motherland now in mortal danger.

Hoang Van Hoan
September 1, 1979

Laos

Why the People Flee the Country

MORE than 200,000 Lao people, one-tenth of the Lao population, have fled their country since 1975. Dozens of people still flee from the capital Vientiane every day. In Lower Laos, some 200 to 300 Lao people clandestinely cross the Mekong River each day. Ruin and desolation reign in the residential quarters of the ancient city of Luang Prabang.

In the exodus are government cadres, workers and staff, army men, technicians, merchants, youth, students, farmers and ex-government officials. The mass exodus of Lao refugees has not only aggravated the political and economic crisis in the country, but has also brought heavy burdens to neighbouring Thailand. In the past, particularly in the difficult days of war against U.S. aggression, very few

Lao people left their country. Why is it, then, that 200,000 Lao people have fled their homeland in the past few years? The answer is easily found in the recent changes in Laos.

Viet Nam's Colonialist Rule

When Laos was liberated in 1975, a Vietnamese army of 40,000-50,000 troops moved into Laos to occupy a vast area of the country and control its strategic military areas, communication lines and natural resources. At the same time, a great number of Vietnamese "advisers" and "experts" poured into the country to bring the various departments of the Lao Party, Government and armed forces under their tight control and to start with colonialist plunder.

The strong resistance to military occupation led to Vietnamese persecution and suppression of Lao cadres and people. To strengthen their rule, Vietnamese "advisers" and "experts" ran all sorts of "Lao-Vietnamese special relationship study classes" for Lao cadres and people. Anyone who dared to manifest the least sign of dissatisfaction with Viet Nam was forced to participate in these "classes." High-ranking cadres would be sent to Hanoi for brainwashing. Those who were considered "serious cases" would be jailed or thrown into concentration camps. A responsible Lao cadre who has fled his country revealed that in the past few years 2,500 members of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party were purged on the charge of "opposing Viet Nam," and hundreds were thrown into prison or killed.

To suppress the Lao people's resistance, the Vietnamese authorities have expanded the Lao army, pressganging people between the ages of 15 and 45 into service. In addition, Hanoi has carried out Vietnamese-style "socialist transformation" in Laos, causing fear and anxiety among the urban inhabitants. Many cadres, technicians and other inhabitants unwilling to endure this fascist colonialist rule have fled their country. So have done young men refusing to serve as cannon fodder for Hanoi.

People Are Suffering

Laos is a sparsely populated country with rich natural resources, but the people are living a miserable life under Vietnamese military occupation and colonialist plunder. The Vietnamese troops stationed in Laos have requisitioned large quantities of grain and other materials to send to Viet Nam to make up for

grain shortage or for export to earn foreign currency. Furthermore, the troops drove Lao people from their homes to provide a vast tract of fertile land for Vietnamese immigrants. An estimated 100,000 Vietnamese immigrants have been sent to the Bolovens Plateau and other Lao frontier provinces. The colonialist policy has caused the Lao peasants untold sufferings and aroused their strong discontent and resistance. In the Vientiane area, peasants fed rice to their pigs rather than sell it to the rulers. Others burnt their stocks of rice and fled. Late one night last September, some 100 households near Vientiane collectively took flight.

The minority nationalities in Laos have suffered most. In recent years, Vietnamese and Lao authorities have repeatedly sent the army out to suppress the Meo people in the mountains. Many were killed by shelling, bombing and even toxic chemicals. To escape slaughter, many have run away with their children. They were frequently attacked on the way by troops. The U.S. magazine *Newsweek* reported that not long ago "a group of 189 Hmong [Meo] tribesmen from the hills of Laos were trying to flee across the Mekong River into Thailand when they were fired upon by Pathet Laos troops using machine guns and rocket-propelled grenade launchers. At least 40 people were killed, including women and children."

Refugee-Exporting Gangs

In Vientiane and other places, as in Viet Nam, there are a number of government-sponsored or government-backed gangs engaged in exporting refugees. For several hundred U.S. dollars, a man would be shipped safely across the Mekong River; for several thousand U.S. dollars, he could get a passport and a visa to go abroad and have someone see him safely board an international flight. Only those who had neither U.S. dollars nor gold attempted the river crossing by themselves and risked being shot by Vietnamese or Lao army patrols and police. In Vientiane, people often hear army-men and police shooting people trying to escape from their own country.

Facts have proved that the chief criminal creating this refugee problem in Laos is none other than the Vietnamese authorities who claim to have a "special relationship" with Laos. If this "relationship" and Vietnamese colonialist control and plunder are not checked, the exodus of Lao refugees will go on.



Viet Nam-Laos "Special relationship."

Cartoon by Ying Tao

—Zong Shu

CHAD

Reconciliation Accord Signed

At the 4th conference on Chad national reconciliation held in Lagos, capital of Nigeria, from August 19 through 21, 11 factions signed an accord on national reconciliation.

Under the terms of the accord, an immediate ceasefire comes into effect in Chad, and a broadly based transitional government, with Goukouni Oueddei as President and Kamougue Wadal as Vice-President, will be formed to be responsible to the country for the next 18 months. A constitutional drafting committee in charge of general election is to be set up for the subsequent return to an elected government.

Under the accord, the Chad capital of N'Djamena is to be demilitarized. All armed forces are to be withdrawn to at least 100 kilometres from the city. A powerful neutral force composed of troops of one or more African countries not sharing common borders with Chad will be organized. Armed forces of various warring factions are to be dissolved to pave the way for the forming of one unified army. The neutral force's mission ends as soon as the unified armed force is formed.

A monitoring commission, as stipulated in the accord, is to be established to supervise the ceasefire. A general amnesty will be declared and all political prisoners set free within 15 days of the formation of the transitional government.

The conference in Lagos was held as decided by the July O.A.U. summit conference in

Liberia's capital, Monrovia. Those who met in Lagos were leaders of all factions in Chad and representatives of Chad's six neighbouring countries, the Sudan, Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger, Libya, and the Central African Empire.

Chad declared independence in August 1960. Five years later, in June 1965, peasants in some parts of Chad rioted against taxes and other miscellaneous levies and were suppressed by the government. The following year, a Chad national liberation front was set up to lead the anti-government armed struggles in the country. The growing struggle eventually led to the dissolution of the government, but the different armed factions continued to fight among themselves. To realize reconciliation throughout the country, three meetings were held in Nigeria. The first meeting produced the Kano agreement, which was later undermined. The second and third meetings were fruitless.

EQUATORIAL GUINEA

New Military Government Formed

The Supreme Military Council of Equatorial Guinea decided on August 25 to form a technical commission as the supreme administrative structure of the country, with Lieutenant-Colonel Obiang Nguema Mbasogo as Head of State and President of the new government. The technical commission has 11 subcommissions, led by accredited officials, in charge of national defence, foreign and domestic affairs, etc.

The Supreme Military Council led by former Vice-Minister of Defence Obiang toppled the Masie regime in a coup on August 3. The coup was widely supported by the Equatorial Guinean army and people, with citizens in the capital walking out on to the streets, embracing one another, cheering and hailing the victory the day after the coup.

After Equatorial Guinea won independence in October 1968, Masie came to office and held absolute power over the party, army and government. In July 1972, he became president for life. He executed at will a large number of political opponents and had 5,000 political prisoners and another 28,000 people imprisoned in labour camps. One group after another of dissenters and discontent officials were purged from every government unit. He also discriminated against the Bubi people, especially their intellectuals. As a result of Masie's cruel rule, one-third of the populace fled the country.

In recent years, Equatorial Guinea has been plagued with sagging production, a shortage of commodity supplies, soaring prices and financial difficulties. Its citizens had to spend most of their time scavenging for something to eat, even the soldiers had to scour the mountains for food. Nevertheless, Masie spent as much as two years' revenue to build the presidential palace and bank building.

It was under such circumstances that Obiang's coup attempt so readily succeeded. In several of his statements, Chairman Obiang pledged to release all political prisoners, and also promised that the new regime would respect the U.N. Charter

and the O.A.U. Charter as well as improve its relations with its neighbours. These proposals engendered international sympathy and appreciation.

CENTRAL AFRICAN EMPIRE

Children Massacred

After a ten-day fact-finding mission, an investigating commission, composed of judges from Senegal, Ivory Coast, Rwanda, Togo and Liberia, which had been sent to the Central African Empire by the Sixth Franco-African Summit convened in the capital of Rwanda in late May, announced at a press conference in Dakar on August 16: "The riot in Bangui last January was savagely put down by the imperial security forces and in April about 100 children were murdered."

The report of the commission said that, in January 1979, schoolchildren of the Central African Empire held a peaceful demonstration to protest the compulsory purchase of school uniforms and to demand scholarships. They were supported by their parents, who had not received their pay for several months. The peaceful demonstration turned into a riot when the imperial security forces suddenly intervened. After the incident, children on buses and in their homes were arrested and detained in army barracks, military police stations and the Ngaranpba prison. They were tortured, mutilated and put into narrow prison cells. Many of them died of asphyxiation.

On August 17, after the investigating commission issued its report, the French Government decided to suspend financial aid to the Central African Empire. It had already cut off military aid to the empire in May when the empire was

first condemned for massacring the children.

SWEDEN

K.G.B. Rampant

The Soviet Union has been conducting espionage activities in Sweden on land and sea and from the air. In the Baltic Sea, there are not only military spy ships but also other vessels disguised as merchant or fishing boats. Soviet reconnaissance planes often fly close to Sweden. Such espionage activities are aimed at locating military radio stations, radar stations and air defence bases in Sweden and other North European countries, intercepting military and other secret radio communications, and spying on the Swedish armed forces.

On land, the Soviet K.G.B. is all-pervasive. Among the 1,037 Soviet personnel and dependents dispatched to Sweden in 1975, many are special agents. In the first half of this year, the Swedish authorities arrested two Swedish citizens for spying for the Soviet Union: one had once worked in the Swedish Security Bureau and Staff Headquarters of the Swedish Defence Ministry; the other was a high-ranking officer. It was revealed that there was a connection between these two cases and the Soviet Embassy in Sweden. When the high-ranking Swedish officer was sentenced last May, the Swedish Foreign Ministry lodged a strong protest with the Soviet Embassy for its espionage activities.

The ubiquitous K.G.B. makes use of all Soviet organizations in Sweden in its work. Its agents, dressed up as "diplomats," pick up intelligence by mixing freely with Swedes from all walks of life. Some Soviet "diplomats" travel everywhere

in cars without diplomatic license plates, especially to important ports, bridges and other installations.

While the K.G.B. has been stepping up its espionage in Sweden, the Soviet Union has quickened the tempo of its arms expansion and war preparations on the Kola Peninsula, Baltic Sea and other parts of Northern Europe. If war breaks out, K.G.B. agents are sure to make trouble in the North European countries.

"NEW AGE" (BRITAIN)

Soviet Ambitions in Central Asia

The peoples of Central Asia are facing a very serious situation. The Soviet Union's strategic offensive in this area could lead it to adventuristic acts, pointed out an article in the latest issue of the monthly *New Age*, published by the Communist Workers' Movement of Britain.

The article said that the Soviet Union considers Central Asia as a springboard for an attempt to reach the warm waters of the Indian Ocean. It could strangle Western Europe by controlling its supplies of oil and other resources. "From such a position of dominance throughout Europe, Soviet imperialists would be able to move on to world domination."

The article pointed out that blatant Soviet interference in the internal affairs of Central Asian countries has evoked great indignation and strong resistance from the people there. The Soviet reaction has been "to send in more and more weaponry and 'advisers.'" But the hundreds of Soviet troops are meeting with strong resistance from the peoples of Central Asia.

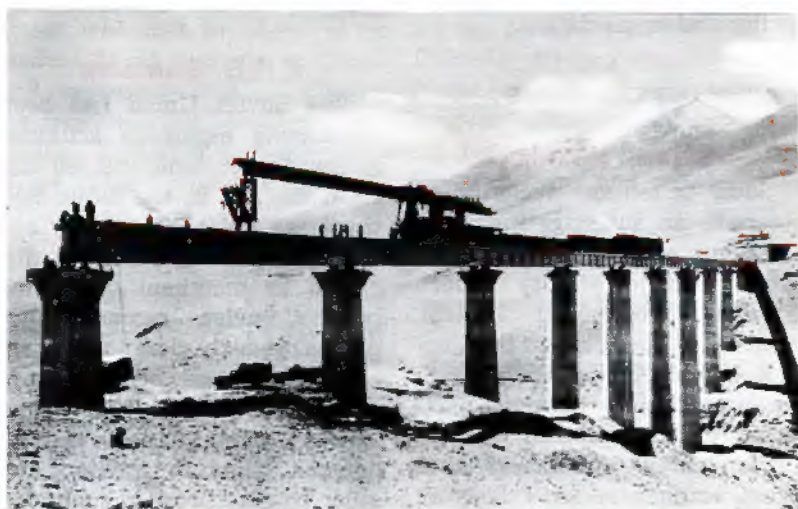
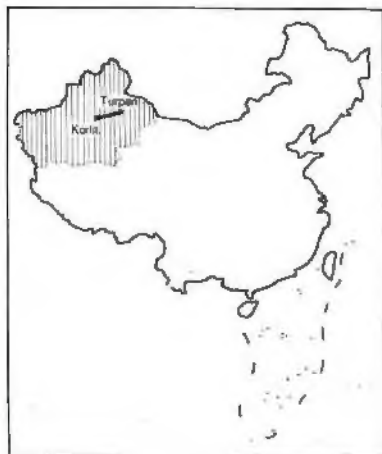
● **Southern Xinjiang Railway**

The track has now been laid for the first railway to southern Xinjiang. Starting at Turpan in northern Xinjiang, it runs for 476 kilometres across a spur of the Tianshan Mountains to Korla.

Construction on the autonomous region's second railway line—the first being the Lanzhou-Xinjiang line—began in July 1971. The new Turpan-Korla line will aid the interflow of commodities between southern and northern Xinjiang and speed up the exploitation of southern Xinjiang's rich natural resources.

The railway passes through rugged terrain, particularly in the central part of the Tianshan Mountains where there are dozens of valleys. It has several hundred bridges and 29 tunnels, the longest being 6,000 metres. There is a 251-kilometre-long section of the railway that was the hardest to build.

Though great achievements have been made in railway construction since the founding of New China, it still cannot keep pace with socialist modernization. China is presently build-



Southern Xinjiang Railway: bridge linking tunnel under construction.

ing new railway lines, including double tracks, as well as speeding up its use of electric trains.

● **Stranded U.S. Freighter Salvaged**

China's Guangzhou Shipwreck Rescue and Salvage Company has been invited by the U.S. International Symposium on Marine Salvage to speak about its experience at a conference in New York in October. The company salvaged a U.S. container freighter this year.

The freighter, the *American Lion*, left Xianggang (Hongkong) for Bangkok last September. It struck a reef and was stranded at the Langhua Reefs in the vicinity of China's Xisha Islands.

After the accident, the captain of the U.S. cargo vessel asked a foreign corporation to salvage the ship. The company tried unsuccessfully for several months.

Then, the Chinese company undertook the job. It deployed a 15,000-ton vessel, high horsepower tugboats and auxiliary power-driven ships. After

overcoming many difficulties, the workers opened a navigation channel. They first unloaded all the ship's containers, then they repaired the hole in the hull.

Technical personnel surveyed the surrounding terrain and seabed, selected a navigation course and worked out plans for tugging away the cargo ship. It was finally towed out to sea by a barge with a powerful engine after having been stranded for six months.

China now has 8,000 workers doing salvage work. In addition to doing salvages for China, they also pilot cargo vessels and do salvages and underwater work for ships from other countries.





LETTERS FROM READERS

An Outstanding Woman Communist

I welcome the new column "Letters From Readers" in your magazine, in which readers can set forth their views and know the other readers' points of view. I have been reading *Beijing Review* for the past 15 years, and I must say I like the new look of your weekly.

The article "Why Was An Outstanding Woman Communist Killed?" in issue No. 30 of this year vividly shows that China will take various measures to establish a legal system to prevent the recurrence of such notorious incidents as the case of Zhang Zhixin fabricated by the gang of four when they were in power.

Gerd Wedemeyer
Wiesbaden, W. Germany

The article on Zhang Zhixin in *Beijing Review* issue No. 30, 1979 raises the very important question of how this sort of thing could happen under China's socialist system. However, I disagree with most of your analysis of the incident. As is frequently done when *Beijing Review* reports on China's recent political history, too many factors are left out which only serves to play down the complexity of China's political scene.

It appears that Zhang Zhixin received no support from Party, government or national press circles when she spoke out against Jiang Qing and Lin Biao. People in the departments concerned at all levels seemed to just sit back and let the contradictions grow out of hand.

I would respectfully suggest that far more people than the gang of four are responsible for this outstanding woman Communist's death.

Richard Pendleton
Boston, U.S.A.

Factual Reports Are More Effective

I am very much impressed by the articles "Factory Stripped of Honour Title" and "Five Years for a Corrupt Official." They show that you are now courageous enough to publish articles which make China appear in a rather bad light. Such articles are often considered by some people to be disparaging to the socialist system. Actually they are not. As a matter of fact, it was incredible that China's publications did not publish such articles in the past. Factual reports produce good results, while reports that try to cover up the seamy side of life are a betrayal to facts and to the modern spirit.

Junichi Yoshizawa
Sapporo, Japan

Structure of State Power

I think that your Special Features constitute a most important part of your magazine. I am interested in "China's Structure of State Power" in issue No. 20. The pictures and charts you have published help the readers get a better understanding of your democracy and how your National People's Congress, the highest organ of state power, is elected.

Jorge Sánchez Morán
Gijón-Asturias, Spain

Greater Hope

What interests me most in the past few weeks are your articles about the seven laws adopted at the Second Session of the Fifth National People's Congress.

I would like to mention the Law of the People's Republic of China on Joint Ventures Using Chinese and Foreign Investment which has a close relation with the Japanese people. The law says that China permits foreign companies, enterprises and other economic organizations or individuals to set up joint companies with their Chinese counterparts. This gives us small businessmen some hope. I recall that it was only a few years ago when the gang of four criticized the so-called "philosophy of servility to things foreign." I am really filled with admiration that China has now adopted a law on joint ventures. And I deeply feel that China is now following a "trend of modern times."

Hideobu Murakami
Kanagawa, Japan

Chinese Youth Is Alive

China is portrayed in most Western press as a country devoid of personality, a country of oppressed, chanting automatons. Your magazine shows that this is simply not true. My interest in China and its road to socialism has been heightened by your magazine.

I found your Special Feature on the younger generation (issue No. 18) very interesting. Chinese youth is considered to be a forgotten generation in China since the Cultural Revolution; however, this feature shows that Chinese youth is very much alive, despite events of the late 60s and early 70s.

Tim Ward
Canberra, Australia

Brecht and China

I like in particular the short article on the performance of the play *The Life of Galileo* in Beijing this year. I read in the article the news that China's theatrical circles had staged in the early years a play by Brecht and some interesting information about the playwright himself. It is quite appropriate for you to publish this article in issue No. 21, because in this way we can read it together with the article "The Third Movement to Emancipate the Mind."

The short article draws attention to the practical significance of the play today. Galileo's struggle against the Inquisition in the Middle Ages bears some similarity to that of Chinese scientists against the gang of four.

Heinz-Günter Foerster
Bielefeld, W. Germany

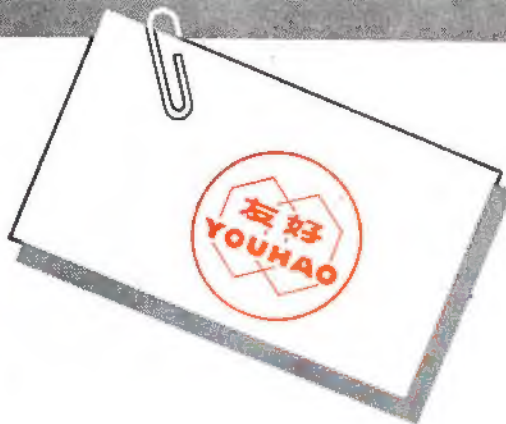
More News About Sports

I regret to say that there is not much news about sports in your weekly, and there are shortcomings in your reports in this respect. Couldn't you give the results obtained together with the successes of your athletes? I would appreciate very much if you would publish more items about sports activities in China.

I look forward to better and better results by Chinese athletes and rapid development of sports in your country.

Salzgeber Daniel
Visp, Switzerland

YOUHAO DYE STUFFS



YOUHAO DIRECT & DIRECT FAST DYES
YOUHAO ACID DYES
YOUHAO TRACID DYES (Weak Acid Dyes)
YOUHAO ACID CHROME DYES
YOUHAO BASIC DYES
YOUHAO SULPHUR & YOUHAODRON DYES
YOUHAOTHOL DYES (Insoluble Azo Dyes)
 YOUHAOTHOL (Coupling Components)
 COLOUR BASES
 COLOUR SALTS
YOUHAO REACTIVE DYES
YOUHAONEUTER DYES (Metallized Dyes 2:1 Type)
YOUHAOTHRENE DYES (Vat Dyes)
YOUHAOCET DYES (Disperse Dyes)
YOUHAOCOL DYES (Pigment Colour Dispersions for
 Textile Printing & Pad Dyeing)
YOUHAOLOGEN DYES (Ingrain Dyes)
YOUHAOTHION DYES (Condense Sulphur Dyes)
FLUORWHITEHAO (Fluorescent Brighteners)
YOUHAO SOLVENT DYES
YOUHAO TEXTILE AUXILIARIES

Catalogues & Samples Delivered on Postal Request



CHINA NATIONAL CHEMICALS IMPORT & EXPORT CORPORATION
Tianjin Branch

171, Chien She Road, Ho-Hsi Area, Tianjin, China

Cable Address: "NOCIDYES" TIANJIN
TELEX: 22510 TJCHM CN